2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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in the three houses for nearly all members of the two extended families, for the factory has become the major gathering point for all of them during the summer. Each married couple maintains its own home in the city. In the Conde and Jacuipe families the tendency has been to enlarge the two families by the addition of in-laws rather than to lose sons and daughters, because of the exceptionally strong family loyalties held by the members. As a result, many more people are drawn into the social circles of the two groups, which at times appear as one family and at other times as two separate but close units.

The social life of these people is carried out almost entirely within this group of ninety-seven persons, and their in-laws, plus the in-law families. Such intrafamilial social life is known as vida em família. During the winter season in Salvador, their social activities are confined to visiting one another, playing cards with one another, having birthday parties for one another, attending the weddings of one another's children, and so forth. Trips to the beach and to social clubs and graduations are made jointly. During the summer, parts of families visit others, and at certain times, such as the botada da usina (first day of the sugar mill's activities each year), Carnaval, and the birthday of the Colonel, his wife, or Dona Yaya, nearly all the members of the family get together. This may mean a gathering of sixty to seventy persons. A "small" luncheon may be attended by a mere twenty or thirty persons.

It is still the custom for young married couples to dine with the parents of each at least once a week. It is also not unusual to find an entire apartment house in the city occupied by members of one family, each conjugal group occupying its own apartment. Members of the same generation usually play or visit together, although all generations are present at most family gatherings. Through lifelong companionship, members of families in this class come to know each other extremely well and are often the best of friends as well as relatives. Because of the size of these families, and because of the constancy of their devotion to one another, there is little time or energy left for entertaining outsiders. This, however, does not mean that acquaintances are limited to family members. Friends are made, who are drawn into the various conjugal groups and into the activities of the larger extended family.

Courtship in Class A families is a formal affair. At first it is considered that the young couple are gostando (liking each other) or namorando (in love). It is expected that the boy

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sen because it is the name of the saint on whose day the child is born. There is also a good sprinkling of the more common names such as Antonio, João, Lourdes, and Maria. But if a child develops any peculiar characteristics, either physical or personal, he or she will be called by some descriptive term based on the peculiarity. Most people have nicknames such as Patão (Big Duck), Barco Velho (Old Boat), Cuspe Grosso (Thick Spit) or Gatinho (Little Cat), and in time their own proper name is forgotten almost entirely and used only for formal occasions such as signing records. The diminutive form of the given name is also popular, and is applied even to upper-class people, for example, Dr. Zeca (diminutive for Dr. José). In some cases a man is even known by his mother's or wife's name, for example, José de Ingracia.

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In choosing godparents, there is great freedom. If possible, at least one of the godparents will be a member of the upper class, a patron who will help the child if necessary, especially if the godson when he grows up wants to go to school in the city or enter the army or navy. The other godparent may be a member of the child's family, or in some cases the midwife. In many cases the wife chooses the female godparent, especially if she suspects that her husband is paying too much attention to some other woman. In such a case she asks that woman to become the godmother; the latter can hardly refuse, as it is always considered a compliment. By becoming the godmother the woman is put effectively out of reach of the husband, as there can be no sexual relations between parents and godparents. This is a common device of women who have an unmarried sister living in the home, and it usually calls a halt to any amorous intentions on the part of either the husband or the sister. There have been cases, however, where this rule was broken. Usually the couple who break this taboo are highly censured by the rest of the community, for the wife, if she finds out, tells her friends about it. In one case which occurred in Vila Recôncavo during the author's stay, the woman was so ashamed and frightened by the sin she had committed that she killed herself by drinking rat poison.

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In the rural area, while the man is usually acknowledged to be the dominant person in the family, it is the woman who dictates most of the daily actions. The children are with her most of the time, helping in the house and working with her in the garden, both girls and boys. When schools opened recently on several of the plantations, it was the mothers, not

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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369 the fathers, who insisted that the children go. In the case of a woman who moves in with a new husband and brings her own children, she always makes it clear that the children are hers and not his. She will allow no interference from her husband in the matter of disciplining her children. Often the best possible relations exist between stepfather and children, but he never gives orders to them. The rural mother in all cases seems to be more exacting with her offspring than the town [861] mother. It is not uncommon for a rural mother to beat her children, even those who are grown men, with the cipó de caboclo (a switch), whereas this would never happen in the town. She also extends her control over them even after they are married, counseling them and helping when she can, and criticizing them severely if she does not like something they do.

883 By the time they are in their late teens, boys become in-
584 terested in courting (namoro), though girls often start ear-
212 lier. If a boy sees a girl who interests him, he manages to
832 meet her as often as possible on the street or at the dock, and
[206] by looks and slight remarks makes it clear that he is interested. Or, if he can write, he may send the girl a note through a common friend. In Vila Recôncavo the telephone office is a popular place for making one's interests known, for the telephone operator is a young woman who is highly respected by most people in town and well liked by young people. A note typical of those which may pass through her hands is as follows:

Vila Recôncavo
January 7, 1951

Dona Therezinha, Salutations:

I am absolutely convinced that you do not doubt the sincerity of my love, which is always manifested so clearly in my letters and in my face when I see you.

So, I equally have the conviction of having the strange happiness of possessing your love, but in the meantime there is something lacking to complete my felicity. That is to speak to you, to hear from your lips the sincere confession of your love, to feel you near me for a few minutes.

I ask you to give me permission to speak to you, indicating the day, hour, and place in which we can meet.

You will surely not repent giving me this pleasure, for you will see that I know how to retribute your confidence

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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One reason why race mixture in Bahia is more extensive than in the United States is that in Bahia it goes on by legal intermarriage in a less restricted way than with us. Although interbreeding between individuals from extreme ends of the color scale is largely extra-legal, intermarriage becomes more frequent as the colors approach along this continuum.

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The general tendency is for the predominantly European portion of the population to absorb the lighter mixed-bloods while the mulattoes in turn absorb the blacks. This means that the Brazilian population is constantly becoming more European, less negroid, in appearance, a tendency which is referred to by local intellectuals as "progressive Aryanization." As Oliveira Vianna has said: "Podemos já assignalar .... uma tendencia que cada vez mais se precisa e define: a tendencia para a aryanização progressiva dos nossos grupos regionaes. Isto é, *o coefficiente da raça branca eleva-se cada vez mais em nossa população*."[38a]

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Family ties are, as we have noted, tenacious. Loyalty to the clan still today transcends loyalty to the state, the church, or any other institution. There is strong personal attachment between white parents and colored offspring, both legitimate and illegitimate, and these ties obviously place the mulatto in an advantageous position for social advancement.

It is commonly thought in Brazil that the Brazilian

from Germany. The man also sent money to a second Negro woman, her two girls and a boy, for whom he, while still in Brasil, had built a comfortable home.

[38a] "A progressive whitening of our population is clearly evident. In other words, the proportion of white blood is constantly increasing" (*Evolução do povo brasileiro* [2d ed.; São Paulo, 1933], p. 172). See also João Pandiá Calogeras, *Formação historica do Brasil* (3d ed.; São Paulo, 1938), p. 36.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

seventeenth century largely disappeared, Zacharias Wagner at that time observed that unions of Portuguese men with Indian or mixed-blood women were still of frequent occurrence.[7] Capistrano de Abreu records the desire of native women to have children "belonging to the superior race, since, according to the ideas current among them, parentage was important only on the paternal side."[8] Freyre, following Varnhagen, thinks "a decided sexual preference" was involved.[9]

Intermarriage assures to the family relationships of the mixed-blood a relative permanence and continuity not always characteristic of informal unions. Although human beings are responsive to the natural claims of paternity, illegitimate offspring are often denied the regular presence of a father in the family and the relative security in other respects of legitimate children.

Among the Africans imported into Bahia were numerous individuals possessed, as we have seen, of a cultural equipment superior not only to that of the native Indian but also "to that of the majority of the white colonists . . . . many of whom were illiterate and the greater portion only semiliterate."[10] In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there was so little literacy among the Europeans that "not rarely rich *fazendeiros* in the interior requested their friends on the coast to arrange a son-in-law who, although he had no

[7] Alfredo de Carvalho, "O Zoobillion de Zacharias Wagner," *Revista do Instituto Archeologico, Historico e Geographico de Pernambuco*, Vol. XI (1904), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[8] Capistrano de Abreu, *Capitulos de historia colonial* (3d. ed.; Rio, 1934), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 59.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 212.

[SALVADOR]

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829 *563 156 On the whole, the Blacks speak with calmness, and, even when they are very reserved toward the investigator, they show a certain psychological assurance and a good adjustment to the conditions of life in Bahia. Here, too, there are obviously exceptions: one man practicing a liberal profession and who is thought to have had worries because of his color, proves reticent and even reserved. "He feels inferior because of the fact that he is black," other Blacks say; "for this reason he frequently causes trouble." The informants state that there are mulattoes who, wishing to conceal their origin, avoid appearing in the company of their own parents of black color. One young man practicing a liberal [593] profession, highly esteemed, is covered with praise because he does not have such prejudices; although married to a White, he goes everywhere with his mother, a Black of the most beautiful black, and introduces her to all his friends. On the other hand, another man of the same milieu and the same "quality" is criticized, because, according to some, "he does not wish to be black and for that reason he hides his old mother." Another Black is regarded as full of prejudice and as a racist, "because he prefers to go around with the Whites and he likes to appear in public with women whiter of complexion than of reputation." Some of his colleagues of the same profession and the same social rank regard him as one "repressed," one who is ashamed of being black. "And," it is added, "there are many like him, who, if they could, would be white!"

829 *563 576 There is no doubt but that certain Whites, including light and dark mulattoes, treat the Blacks and colored persons of humble social class with a certain air of superiority. They do so more rarely with individuals of the same rank as they. To say to someone's face that he is inferior because of his color would be a serious offense, according to the etiquette that governs the relations be- [671] tween individuals of different types in Bahia. A moreno educator, native of a northern State, says that during the nine years that he lived in Bahia he was able to observe this mutual respect between persons of different "qualities," provided they were of the same social rank, while in his State colored people are treated with contempt.

[SALVADOR]

175 /40 cont./ These marriages increased after
178 Independence, in 1822, with the
*563 social ascent of mulattoes, military men, bureaucrats, lawyers
555 graduated from Portuguese and French universities, a process which was intense under the Brazilian monarchical regime and to which Bahia contributed liberally with statesmen and politicians coming from these groups (2).

2. G. Freyre, op. cit., III, p. 951.

178 Social pressure against mixed marriages seems to have de-
*563 creased with time, and so the latter became more numerous
626 every day. Formerly the families of high society or of the
584 bourgeoisie verified the origin of fiancés with great care. Many
•593 marriages came to grief because one of the future partners was found to belong to the "caste." The unions that were formed against the parents' wish were the cause of lasting quarrels between parents and children, and gave rise to veritable domestic tragedies. Many fathers cursed their daughters and disinherited them when they persisted in wanting to marry a man of "inferior quality," especially if he were a bastard. "In our day," a female informant told us, "one has it much easier." This indeed seems to be the general opinion.

*563 The mixed marriage is greatly sought after because it confers
557 prestige on the one of the two partners who is darker. A black professor made the remark to us that there are few colored men who, in marrying a light woman, think of "improving the race," but rather they hope to facilitate their own social ascent. Proof of this is the frequency with which this intention is /41/ implicitly indicated or even acknowledged. A colored employee flirts with white boys "for fun"; in fact, she is trying to get the man she wants, and she announces that she will never marry a man of dark color unless he is rich and well situated. Her mother approves entirely when she announces that she will not accept the advances of a man of dark color. Her three sisters have married Whites, and one of them is proud of her children who are blond. A student of the same physical type "prefers" moreno suitors, but admits that she would have no objection to marrying a White.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 873 178 511 With the gradual rise of the standard of living of the lower strata of the population and with the augmentation of facilities granted to poor students in the framework of secondary education, thanks to the creation of new free colleges, the number of colored students is rising from day to day.

*563 555 593 873 Moreover, many fathers and, in the case of young colored people, many mothers of very modest circumstances make extraordinary sacrifices to assure their children a diploma that will permit them to practice a liberal profession. As a result, in the various faculties of the University of Bahia there are numerous

*563 571 873 colored students who share the life, the studies, the diversions of their white comrades and who form groups with them according to their social rank and the center of their intellectual and academic interest. If one sometimes sees groups made up solely of young colored people, it is nevertheless certain that in the university there is no intentional or permanent segregation /80/ based on classifications of "race" or "quality." In no other environment is there more harmony and less tension in interracial relations, the informants unanimously declare. Nevertheless events whose meaning could be debatable, and which some students attribute to race prejudice, do take place. There are even students who have a tendency to remain isolated during all their years of study; certain informants say that they adopt such behavior in the hope of avoiding annoyances that might be on account of their racial affiliation. Others claim to have had difficulties when they made their application to groups of excursionists or when they took part in oratorical contests, the winners of which were to go to Rio de Janeiro as representatives of the students of Bahia. One man practicing a liberal profession, very dark in color, said that he had never suffered from discrimination when he attended the university, but that he had heard his white comrades speak of people of his type by designating them with the pejorative term of "Negro." The interpretations of the informants on the subject of the preceding facts vary, however. Some think that these episodes are caused by the feeling of inferiority and the timidity of students of very low social status. With